

A G E N D A

The time has come; we have got to determine what the political thrust of the Ellsberg "movement" will be. In his own appearances Dan will no doubt be talking across the board about Vietnam, the continuing war, the decisions making processes in government, the failure of legislative power, the act of conscience, etc. Nevertheless, and with Ellsberg as a given, we should determine first, what we are trying to accomplish; second, of all the possible messages which one or ones should receive emphasis; and third, what means should be utilized?

I. General purposes

- A. An end to the Indochina war.
- B. A change of administration in 1972.
- C. Increase public consciousness of their need to play the citizen's role more responsibly.
- D. Strengthen congressional determination (if any exists at all) to assert itself against the executive.
- E. Reduce the inordinate awe and respect for the Presidency.
- F. Change the classification system.

*Abolish; or, in political cases* G. Restore the original grand jury function of protecting the individual against the state.

II. "Messages"

A. The war

- 1. The war is not winding down
  - a. American casualties vs. ARVN and civilian
  - b. Increased bombing tonnages
- 2. Updating the Pentagon Papers
  - a. What really happened in Laos
  - b. Cambodia : formerly peaceful and at worst neutral; now ravaged and communist dominated
  - c. Current fiction (Nixon rhetoric) vs. current fact (administration thinking and plans)
- 3. The war's illegality
  - a. No Congressional declaration; *deception of Congress*
  - b. Violation of the principles of Nuremberg, the United Nations Charter, and treaties embodied in the Law of Land Warfare (Department of the Army Field Manual 27-10)

## II. "Messages"

### B. The endangered governmental processes

1. The executive excesses
  - a. The illegal war, Tonkin, etc.
  - b. Systematic leaks
  - c. Government by deception
2. The congressional failure
  - a. Tonkin
  - b. Doves voting for Vietnam appropriations
  - c. *Lack of "resistance" (filibuster)*
3. The bureaucratic failure
  - a. Rigidity of assumptions
  - b. *Resistance to the White House*
  - c. Misuse of the classification system
  - d. Deception
4. The people's failure
  - a. Inattentiveness
  - b. Acquiescence of deception
  - c. Excessive respect for the presidency
  - d. Unappreciated power of the vote
5. The classification system and systematic leaks

### C. The endangered legal processes

1. Selectivity of the Ellsberg indictment: other leaks
2. Misuse of the grand jury system by the prosecuting agencies
3. Secrecy and wire tapping

### D. The Act of Conscience

1. What Ellsberg did
2. "What can I do?"
3. Civil disobedience

## III The tools at hand

(For one, we should hear more about the trial from Leonard. What are its strategies? What are we building toward? What does Dan have to be doing vis-a-vis the trial, before and during? What should all of us be saying about the trial?)

III. The tools at hand

- B. Research - legal and political
  - a. Updating Pentagon Papers - Gurtov
  - b. Availability of classified materials in libraries
  - c. Official leaks
  - d. Private leaks (memoirs)
  - e. Comparison of truth (Pentagon Papers) with fiction (official handouts) 1946-1968
- C. Articles
  - 1. Professional groups
    - a. Journalism school reviews on role of press
    - b. Law review editors
    - c. Amer. Pol. Science Assn
    - d. AHA
  - 2. Continuation of Harpers, SRL, etc.
  - 3. Our own contacts with writers, encouragements
- D. TV and Radio
- E. Dan's schedule
  - 1. Substitutes e.g. Spock, Sheinbaum, Goodell
  - 2. Regional swings
    - a. 4 day or 10 day ?
    - b. 2 days in, say, St. Louis, Campuses, local editors, BEMs, Cocktail fund raisers, TV and radio spots
- F. Thrust of copy
  - 1. Ads
  - 2. Mailings
- G. Dan's own constituencies
  - 1. Campuses
  - 2. Protest groups
  - 3. Intelligence intellectuals (some, hopefully)
  - 4. Academics
  - 5. FEP
  - 6. Harvard Class
- H. The Ellsberg Defense Committee
  - 1. Its Role
  - 2. Its composition
  - 3. Its activities

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